IV. DEGREE OF AUDITORY INTELLIGIBILITY

197 Although it is rather difficult to point out the exact degree of mutual auditory intelligibility of the languages and dialects spoken in this region, the previous section dealing with their distinguishing features should have made it reasonably clear that non-Chinese languages, although not entirely free from Chinese influences, bear little resemblance to the Chinese dialects. Hence they are not intelligible to the Chinese-speaking people of the region. Furthermore, they are sufficiently different from one another to be mutual unintelligible.

Speakers of Southwestern Mandarin generally have a great deal of difficulty in trying to understand Hakka. However, since speakers of Hakka in this region are able to converse in Southwestern Mandarin also, there is no insurmountable barrier between them and speakers of Southwestern Mandarin.

V. THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE OR KUO-YU

197 Since there is no standard spoken Chinese,
●185 and since the various Chinese dialects in general are sufficiently different to make them mutually unintelligible to various degrees, many difficulties naturally arise. The Chinese themselves have long felt the need for a national language that will help them solve such difficulties. Consequently, as early as 1911, a movement was

197 launched to unify the national language, and a
185 system of thirty-nine phonetic symbols which were later reduced to thirty-seven was devised primarily for the purpose of indicating speech sounds. In the following year the pronunciation of Northern Mandarin as typified by the dialect of Pei ping was adopted as the standard for the new national language. With the strong support of the government and educational leaders, the movement soon gained momentum and swept the entire country. Gradually more and more speakers of other dialects began to make an effort to learn the new national language or kuo-yü.

During the years of China's war of resistance against Japan when people speaking various dialects were squeezed into the hinterland, dialectal barriers were gradually broken down. A situation like that proved to be favorable to the further popularization of the national language. Although it may be exaggeration to say that now the national language has replaced the local dialects in the Southwest Region, it is nevertheless true that kuo-yü is gaining wider acceptance than ever before.

VI. THE WRITTEN LANGUAGES

A. The Chinese Written Language

212 The Chinese written language consists of thousands of uniformly understood logographs or "characters" as they are commonly called. They can be understood only with reference to their ancient forms.

212 to learn and memorize. As there are thousands of characters in everyday use, many of which are comparable in complexity and clumsiness, it should be apparent that it will take an average person many years to become adequately literate. It is entirely possible and highly probable that there is a definite connection between the complicated and clumsy Chinese script and the high incidence of illiteracy in China, although other equally convincing factors, too, must have contributed substantially to that fact.

IX. LANGUAGE REFORMS

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185 Attempts to introduce language reforms in China began on a nationwide basis with the movement to unify the national language shortly after the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1911. The movement was followed closely by efforts to reform the written language. Those who advocated such reforms were of the opinion that since the characters were so complicated and time-consuming for the average person to learn, and since literary Chinese was so unrealistic and impractical, something had to be done to make the written language of China more effective, so that it could be within the grasp of the average person to learn, and in a relatively short period of time.

A. Phonetic Symbols

One type of reform advocated the use of phonetic symbols as an aid to the illiterate to learn to read. However, since the sole function of these symbols is phonetic, they are effective

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when they are used as a guide to correct pronunciation in accordance with the standard of the national language for the purpose of leveling down dialectal differences in pronunciation. They are helpful only to those who have not yet acquired such a knowledge. They cannot possibly add anything to the attempt to make the Chinese language system simpler or more readily accessible to the illiterate masses.

B. Alphabetization

Another type of retorm advocated was the alphabetization of Chinese in order to get away from ideographic writing. As a matter of fact, the use of the Roman alphabet for the transcription of sounds of the Chinese language is no novel suggestion. As early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, Matteo Ricci, a Jesuit missionary to China, began to transcribe the then Mandarin sounds with the Roman alphabet on the basis of the speech sounds of his own native Italian language. Later, other systems of romanization were devised by others to meet the needs of those speaking other Western languages The most widely used system among English-speaking peoples is the so-called Wade-Giles system, originally devised by Sir Thomas Wade, a member of the British legation in China, and later revised by the British sinologist, Herbert A. Giles. Another system in current use in this country is devised by the linguists at Yale University.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16

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In 1928 the Chinese Ministry of Education adopted a system of romanization known as Gwoyeu Romatzyh or National Language Romanization, devised by a group of Chinese linguists and intellectual leaders such as Dr. Yuen Ren Chao, Dr. Lin Yutang, and others. Its distinguishing feature is that instead of indicating Chinese intonation by means of superior figures or diacritical marks, it spells the different tones of Chinese words with different letters: mai (second tone, Wade-Giles mai^{2}) "to bury"; mae (third tone, Wade-Giles mai^{3}) "to buy"; may (fourth tone, Wade-Giles mai^{4}) "to sell".

Between 1929 and 1931 another system of romanization known as Latinzua was devised mainly by Professor A. A. Dragunov, a linguist of Leningrad, primarily for teaching the Chinese workers in the USSR to read. It has been very popular, for obvious reasons, with the Chinese Communists, who have been doing all they can to promote and popularize it. However, since the system makes no attempt, except in an ad hoc manner, to distinguish tones in Chinese, it is not only inadequate and unsatisfactory, but often misleading.

C. Simplified Characters

Yet another type of proposal advocated the simplification of Chinese characters, especially the more complicated ones in common use, by reducing the number of their strokes. Advocates of this proposal believed that a simplified system of writing would make the whole process of

learning to read and write Chinese much easier and less time-consuming. For example, 纔 ts'ai "then" has been reduced to look like 才, and 鉄 t'ieh "iron", to look like 铁. If a satisfactory principle of simplication that is philologically sound can be worked out, so that the simplified characters, if necessary, can be identified with the original characters, the adoption of such a system may turn out to be a boon to China's millions of illiterate people in their effort to become literate.

D. Basic Chinese

A fourth type of proposal advocated the reduction of the number of characters to be meant for general use in order to simplify the written language. For example, the series of textbooks for teaching the illiterate compiled by Dr. Yen Yang-ch'u, leader of the Mass Education Movement, who is better known abroad as James Y.C. Yen, represents an effort made in this direction. On the basis of some 1,200 characters chosen by him in terms of their frequency, he compiled texts that he believed would enable China's illiterate people to meet their basic needs in expression. As another effort made more or less in the same direction, we may mention the list of characters chosen by Hung Shen, the famous dramatist. In 1935 he published his Method of Teaching and Using 1,100 Basic Chinese Characters. Instead of basing his choice of characters on frequency and limiting their usefulness and expressiveness to the rudimentary plane, he chose them on the criteria of

their flexibility in forming compounds with other characters, and their adequacy for general use in everyday situations.

X. DEVELOPMENTS UNDER THE COMMUNISTS

The Chinese Communists have been cautious in their efforts to reform the Chinese language. They frequently quote Stalin as saying that the language of a people cannot be artifically changed and that the evolution of any language has to follow a natural course.[1] However, the Communists also see the immediate need of simplifying the Chinese written language to combat illiteracy. In this regard the government policy is based on Mao Tse-tung's statement that, "under certain conditions, the written language of China must be reformed."[2] Envisaged as an ultimate goal of language reform is the complete Latinization of the Chinese written language. In other words, the characters will be replaced by the Latin alphabet. Communists promoters of Latinization often cite Lenin's pronouncement that "Latinization is the great revolution of the East,"[3] to substantiate their argument.

The Communists are trying to cultivate a politically conscious proletariat in China. China's

1. See quotation and discussion in Ts'ao Po-han, Yu-wen Wen-t'i P'ing-lun Chi [Critical Essays on the Language Problem] , Shanghai, Tung-fang shu-tien, 1954, p. 95.

2. Mao Tse-tung, Mao Tse-tung Hsüan-chi [Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung] , Vol. II, Peking, Jen-min ch"u-pan-she, 1952, p. 680.

3. John de Francis, Nationalism and [contd]

212 spoken language, as reflected in songs, plays,
185 and speeches, is becoming more proletarian
and drifting away from the set phrases and expressions traditionally used by the intellectual class. Extensive use of professional jargon and local expressions is the vogue of the day. Political terms and scientific terms, particularly those of Russian origin, are apparently on the lips of every Chinese who has had Communist indoctrination. It must be noted that the Communists, in adopting many new terms heretofore unfamiliar to the average Chinese, are aware of the danger of corrupting the language. The People's Daily of Peking (the Pravda of China), in an editorial on June 6, 1951, urged the use of correct Chinese and stressed the need for the study of grammar so that "the Chinese language will not become corrupt and impure."[4]

In the movement to eradicate illiteracy, the current trend is to promote accelerated methods of language teaching and to standardize and formalize many simplified characters already used in handwriting by the people. One of the most publicized methods to accelerate language learning was introduced in 1948 by Ch'i Chien-hua,

Language Reform in China, Princeton University Press, 1950, p. 90.

4. Quoted in Jen-min Chiao-yü [People's Education], Peking, March 1955, p. 28.

a cultural cadre attached to the armed forces. Ch'i publicized the use of "National Phonetic Symbols" (not to be confused with the Gwoyeu Romatzyh discussed in foregoing sections of this chapter) as the "walking stick" for new learners. Phonetic symbols are employed as an aid to pronunciation. This method was said to be so successful that the Peking government in May 1952 recognized Ch'i's contribution by awarding him a citation.[5]

Simplification of written characters has received official blessing. When the Committee on the Study of Language Reform under the Ministry of Education compiled 798 such simplified characters and recommended that they be adopted, the recommendation was given immediate attention. On May 1, 1955 the committe announced that 57 of the simplified characters would be adopted by six national periodicals for experimental purposes.[6] By January 1956, the number of simplified characters approved by the committee and already in use by many publications had increased to 260. At the same time the committee also announced the standardized forms of 810 characters, of which many irregular forms had been in use.[7]

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5. People's Education, May 1952, p. 4.

6. Hua-ch'iao Jih-pao [China Daily News], New York, May 2, 1955, p. 1.

7. Ya-chou Tien-hsün [Asia Foundation News Bulletin], San Francisco, Jan. 19, 1956, p. 3.

8. Ni Hai-shu Chung-kuo Yu-wen Ti Hsin-sheng [The Rebirth of the Chinese Language], Shanghai, Shih-tai shu-pao ch'u-pan-she, 1949, pp. 458-59; also see John de Francis, op. cit. pp. 131-34. [see next page]

1:Stanford U. 3-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16

The Latinization movement, although without much official promotion, is by no means dead. There are publications printed in this new form of Chinese. One ardent supporter of this movement, Ni Hai-shu, claimed that in 1949 there were over 300 such publications, with a total circulation of about 500,000 on the market.[8] There is evidence that such publications are still available in Southwest China today.

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There are other recent developments in language reform. One is the attempt to standardize the use of punctuation. On October 5, 1951 the Government Administration Council in Peking issued a directive on the correct use of punctuation marks.[9] Since that time the general trend has been moving toward standardization. It has also been advocated that Chinese be written horizontally and from left to right. Such a practice is not new, but the Peking government is the first Chinese regime to sanction it. Following lengthy discussions of this practice, national publications like the Enlightenment Daily and the New China Monthly began printing their texts horizontally in January 1955. The People's Daily and a few other journals followed suit in January 1956.

As to the languages of minority nationality groups, the over-all Communist policy is to help them create or improve their own written scripts. The theory is that these people must first be given their own languages; then it will be easier for them to learn Chinese (Latinized Chinese, most probably). In Southwest China, the Tai

9. Jen-min Shou-ts'e, 1952 [People's Handbook, 1952], Shanghai, Ta-kung pao, 1952, p.437.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF. 16 SW China
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script used by the minority nationality groups around Pao-shan in Yunnan Province was standardized in December 1952.[10] Many other non-Chinese languages in this region are receiving equal attention.

XI. SPEAKERS OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Before 1949, the use of foreign languages, mainly English, was found in a few larger cities in Southwest China like Chungking and Chengtu. In Kunming (Yunnan Province) and several towns on the old Yunnan-Indochina Railway where French influence was discernible, French was an understandable language among a small segment of population in commercial and educated circles. Compared with other Western languages English was popular in Southwest China because of the contact with English-speaking visitors and the inclusion of English in school curricula. However, with the exception of a few foreign missionary schools in which English was emphasized and taught by native speakers, instruction in English in other schools did not amount to much. This was true even of the colleges in the region. Although some college students could read a printed item in English with reasonable ease, they could hardly converse in it. On the average it may be safely assumed that no more than one-tenth of the secondary school graduates and no more than one-third of the college graduates could, with some difficulty, read English. The over-all percentages of those who could speak it would be even smaller.

10. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, January 29, 1953, p. 3.

in the Southwest Region. Far more likely, the region would have been mentioned in reports on the areas "least progressive" in family reform, had the Communists cared to publicize such conditions in 1955. But the report on the "advanced areas" gives some indication of the best the Communists have been able to do in places where they have been long estabished. According to the commitee, family relationships were improved or improving in 90 to 95 per cent of the homes and "bad" in only 5 to 10 per cent. Of the larger group, 10 to 15 per cent were described as the "advanced modern type...with a definite degree of socialist consciousness, where democracy and harmony obtain and members are united for production." The commitee announcement added that in 80 per cent of these homes women were no longer oppressed, beaten, or scolded, but "remnants of the patriarchal system and the conception of the rights of the husband" still existed to varying degrees.[26]

C. Reorientation of Family Reform

No rapid change in traditional family attitudes and practices in the Southwest Region is likely to have occurred to date. The all-out effort to revolutionize the Chinese family in the spring of 1953 has not been repeated. Soon after the 1953 campaign, decreasing emphasis was given by the regime to quick implementation of the new Marriage Law. Family reform was made a continuing part of the everyday work of the various

26. SCMP, 1002, p. 3.

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Party and state organizations. The complaint of the Party since then has been that the cadres are not taking the work seriously.[27]

There are indications that by 1953 the regime's emphasis on new freedom for women and the prominent publicity given statistics on divorce had led to the Marriage Law being popularly termed the "Divorce Law."[28] At the same time, resistance in the rural areas to sudden changes in the old institutions of marriage and family relations are becoming evident to Party leaders as the results of the late 1952 investigations are tabulated.

A shift in pace and in the propaganda emphasis on marriage and family reform was evident in Liu Ching-fan's report to the Government Administration Council at the end of 1953. Although the better treatment and greater freedom given to women were not to be neglected, greater emphasis was placed on the establishment of "harmonious" and "democratic" relationships within the family, whether originally of the old or new type, and to the positive benefits that would accrue to all members of the family as a consequence of reform.[29]

Analyzing the then current situation, Liu noted that the people still maintained a feudal ideology and consciousness in regard to many social problems, and that this attitude in respect to marriage problems was a "more universal

27. Ibid., p. 4.
28. China News Analysis, No. 5, p.2.
29. C.B., 273, pp. 5-6.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16

and serious one." Liu admitted that the abolition of the feudal marriage system and the establishment of the new system was "a long term and difficult process in the ideological and social reform of the people." To accomplish this reform, he added, the regime would have to co-ordinate its efforts with the people's personal interests and levels of attainment, persuade the people patiently, and raise their level steadily. The process of implementing the Marriage Law, Liu concluded, would have to be made part of the regular tasks of the government and people's organizations at all levels and co-ordinated with the central tasks of production, construction and elections.[30] These recommendations have become the principles by which the government still seems to be guided in marriage and family reform.

In the cities where modern influence had prepared the people for acceptance of new marriage and family principles, the regime encountered a different kind of problem. Just before International Women's Day, March 8, 1955, an authoritative statement in the Communist press added a new note to the usual reference to lingering remnants of feudal obstruction and the long-term nature of family reform. The statement charged that bourgeois ideology had reached into marriage and family relationships. The bourgeois influences detected were love of luxury and disparagement of labor, "carelessness" in choosing marriage partners or the desire for new partners after marriage

30. Ibid., pp. 4-6.

596 185 369

and devotion to self- interest. They had respectively given rise to the sins of marriage based on money, "the belittlement of sexual relationships," and maltreatment, desertion, and irresponsibility toward parents and children.[31]

The nation's young people were evidently the most prone to this subversive influence. A campaign to guard youth against "bourgeois concepts" was launched in the large cities during the spring of 1955. In connection with the drive, the Communist press evidenced concern regarding romantic love, heart-break, unsolved marriage problems of workers in sparsely populated areas, and the attractions and diversions of a carefree social life in the cities. These things, the press warned, were subverting many young people from their primary duty of devoting their whole effort and attention to study and work in the national interest. The advice of the Communist editors, "to place love in a secondary position in one's life," is hardly likely to solve the problem.[32]

A different sort of problem confronted youth in the countryside. Apparently the possibility was not present there for youth to develop love and marriage attachments through the ideal and officially sanctioned method of mutual participation in production, indoctrination, and study. A 1955 report on Marriage Law implementation admitted that "in the extensive rural districts... the conditions for adequate communal life and avenues for social intercourse" are lacking.

31. SCMP, 1022, p. 4.

32. Ibid., pp. 15-18; 1052, pp. 25-33.

596 As a result, "most marriages are still being
• 185 contracted after both parties were first intro-
369 duced to each other by third parties." The report hastened to explain that as the bride and groom gave their previous agreement to the marriage it was to be regarded as a marriage of free will and not to be confused with the old and outlawed practice of arranged marriage.[33]

E. Replacement of the Family's Social, Economic and Political Role

596 A second step taken by the Communist
575 regime to change radically the nature and function
467 of the Chinese family was accomplished with the establishment of organizations to regiment every phase of human endeavor. The labor unions in the city, the peasant associations, mutual-aid teams, and co-operatives in the country became the center not only of economic life, but of social, political, and indoctrination activities as well. Unions were organized in the cities almost as they fell to the Communist armies, but the formation of comparable institutions in the countryside awaited the gradual process of land reform. Until it was completed in any area, no alternate organization to the family existed to assume its [582] socio-economic role. This fact seem to explain why the Communists during the spring of 1953 limited their Marriage Law campaign in the country side to those areas where land reform had been accomplished.

596 Special organizations were set up to train
575 and absorb the energies of women and children
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33. Ibid., 1002, p. 3.

economy and will eventually disappear after the transformation from the capitalist economy to the socialist economy is completed in the future. 464

During the period from 1952 to 1952, 354,297 unemployed workers registered with the local governments in the Southwest Region. By October 1952, about 76 per cent of the registrants had found work through their own efforts or through government agencies. The Communist methods of unemployment relief included "substitution of work for relief," "increased production and self-help," and a "back-to-the-village" drive. Most of the unemployed urban workers in the Southwest Region were recruited to build railways, highways, and other public works in large cities such as Chungking, Chengtu, and Kungming. Only 15 per cent of the unemployed workers received direct relief in the region.[35]

VIII. THE FIVE YEAR PLAN AND THE WORKERS OF SOUTHWEST CHINA

The industry of Southwest China is still largely in the handicraft stage. The first Five-Year Plan initiated by the Communists in 1953 contained no major projects for the region. None of the small-scale factories and mines play any significant parts in the plan. Despite these facts, 185

35. New China Daily, Chungking, Sept. 29, p. 2 and Sept. 30, p. 2, 1952.

• 185 in 1953 and 1954 the workers in the Southwest had to respond to the demand of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions for renewed labor emulation drives and increased efforts to raise production. Reports of increased production in the region during the first three years of the plan were scattered, indicating that the workers in the Southwest have not been carrying a major load in Communist reconstruction under the plan.

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722 As a result of the recent barbaric Japanese invasion of China and the great influx of modern people and ideas from down-river into the Basin during the past few years, a renaissance has begun in Szechuan Basin. The Basin is now undergoing an economic awakening. It is in a state of rapid transition, induced and intensified by the exigencies of the war.

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241 Since the migration of the National government into the Basin, every possible means has been utilized and every feasible plan is being drawn up to increase the efficiency of land use in the Basin. Mention may be made of a few striking examples.

In agricultural land use, various measures have been devised to cope with the inefficient traditional Tung Shui Tien field system; the acreage in Tsai Seng Tao variety rice has been extended; cotton culture has been expanded; the cultivated acreage of herb plants has been increased; more modern sugar refineries have been built, experimental stations have been established, and a number of new varieties of sugar cane have been introduced; silk-culture has been organized and operated on a more scientific basis; a number of tea-growers' cooperatives have been found recently; and above all, the practices in fertilization, terracing, erosion control, and irrigation works have been improved.

178 With the introduction of more modern methods of processing, the numerous agricultural and forestry products of the Basin are being put into more efficient utilization. The increasing manufacture of alcohol and wines from grains, the making of charcoal from wood, and the preparation of synthetic gasoline from tung oil are notable examples. These innovations not only meet the various emergent war needs, especially that of fuel supply, but also help to solve the still difficult transportation problem by transforming the bulky agricultural and forestry products into lighter and more transportable forms.

313 In forestry land use, significant improvements have already taken place. A number of large corporations, financed either by government or private interests, have recently organized to survey intensively and to exploit systematically the rich forestry
314 resources of the Basin. Numerous attempts have been made to improve tung tree production, including the establishment of more tung tree plantations and experimental stations, the supply of modern equipment, and the efficient organization of marketing facilities. Besides, the recent completion of the west branch of